

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA PRIORITY
INFO USDEL MBFR VIENNA PRIORITY

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PARM, SOPN

SUBJECT: MAY 26 ROUNDUP

1. WASHINGTON POST, IN LEAD EDITORIAL MAY 26, SAID ON BASIS OF "SKIMPY OUTLINE OF KNOWN AND GUESSED FACTS" ABOUT SALT NEGOTIATIONS "IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO REACH ANY FIRM CONCLUSIONS." BUT POST MADE THESE OBSERVATIONS: "ONE IS THAT IT IS WELCOME NEWS THAT NEGOTIATIONS ARE GOING FORWARD IN LESS SHOW-BIZ MODE THAN BEFORE -- MINUS BOTH OUTSIZED DELEGATION AND HIGH NOON RHETORIC THAT WERE PART OF THAT DELEGATION'S SEND-OFF. BOTH, WE CALCULATE, CONTRIBUTED TO TROUBLE IN MOSCOW IN MARCH. MR. VANCE, WELL-TRAINED PROFESSIONAL, APPEARS TO HAVE RESTORED ELEMENT OF PROFESSIONALISM TO PROCEEDINGS. HE DID NOT TAKE EVERYONE BUT PARLOR MAID WITH HIM THIS TIME, AND THERE WAS NOTABLE ABSENCE OF PUBLIC BEAN SPILLING IN ADVANCE OF JOURNEY. AGAIN, IT IS GOOD NEWS THAT SERIOUS POLITICAL BARGAINING HAS EVIDENTLY BEEN TAKING PLACE. NO ONE SHOULD THINK, HOWEVER, THAT EVEN WITHOUT CRUISE MISSILE, BACKFIRE AND POSSIBLY SOME OTHER WEAPONS, VLADIVOSTOK CEILINGS WILL BE SIMPLE TO NEGOTIATE.

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THERE ARE SOME FORMIDABLE SUBSTANTIVE MATTERS AND ALSO MATTERS OF VERIFICATION TO BE DEALT WITH. AND THE TREATY/ PROTOCOL/PRINCIPLES FORMULA COULD CARRY ITS OWN PROBLEMS AND RISKS.... WHAT REMAINS TO BE SEEN IS WHETHER CRUISE- MISSILE DEVELOPMENT CAN BE DEFERRED IN WAY THAT WILL NEITHER NEUTRALIZE ITS IMPORTANCE AS LEVER TO SOUND AND SECURE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION NOR LOSE PROSPECTIVE BENEFITS

TECHNOLOGY MIGHT PROVIDE FOR CONVENTIONAL DEFENSE OF EUROPE. THAT, PRESUMABLY, IS ALSO WHAT REMAINS TO BE NEGOTIATED."

2. IN CRITICAL EDITORIAL, NEW YORK TIMES COMMENTED ON 26 ARMS CONTROL IMPACT STATEMENTS FORD ADMINISTRATION SENT TO CONGRESS. ERDA, ACCORDING TO TIMES, "EVIDENTLY SOUGHT TO MAKE STATEMENTS AS UNINFORMATIVE AS POSSIBLE LEST THEY PROVIDE AMMUNITION TO CRITICS OF WEAPONS PROGRAMS. ACDA, WHICH WAS SUPPOSED TO INJECT A COUNTERBALANCING APPRAISAL, WAS APPARENTLY TOO WEAK EVEN TO OBTAIN MUCH OF INFORMATION IT NEEDED FROM DEFENSE DEPARTMENT. NSC, WHICH COORDINATED PREPARATION OF STATEMENTS, DID LITTLE TO RECTIFY THAT IMBALANCE." TIMES SAID IMPACT STATEMENT PROCESS "CALLS FOR FORETHOUGHT, NOT FOREWARNING" AND NOTED "THERE IS SOME REASON TO HOPE THAT NEXT ROUND OF STATEMENTS MAY BE BETTER." TIMES SAID "PRESIDENT CARTER AND PAUL C. WARNKE, NEW ARMS CONTROL DIRECTOR, HAVE PLEDGED TO ABIDE BY SPIRIT AS WELL AS LETTER OF LAW. ANY EFFORT TO IMPROVE STATEMENTS WILL QUICKLY RUN INTO AN UNDERLYING PROBLEM. PROCESS RESTS ON PROBABLY UTOPIAN EXPECTATION THAT NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCIES CAN CONCEDE ARMS CONTROL DISADVANTAGES IN WEAPONS PROGRAMS THEY ARE PUSHING. IT MAY NEVER WORK WITHOUT STRONG SUPPORT FROM HIGHEST LEVELS." UNLESS ADEQUATE ANALYSES ARE SUBMITTED, TIMES DECLARED, "CONGRESS SHOULD REPEAL IMPACT PROCEDURE AS CHARADE WITHOUT IMPACT."

3. VICTOR ZORZA, WRITING IN WASHINGTON POST, SAID IF UNCLASSIFIED

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CARTER ADMINISTRATION "HAS ITS WAY, STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION AGREEMENT NOW BEING NEGOTIATED WILL BECOME MAJOR ISSUE IN NEXT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION." ZORZA SAID SALT "FRAMEWORK" PROPOSED BY VANCE CONTAINS PROTOCOL THAT WOULD RUN UNTIL 1980, "PRECISELY WHEN ELECTION CAMPAIGN REACHES ITS CLIMAX. THAT MEANS THAT FOLLOW-ON PROTOCOL WOULD HAVE TO BE NEGOTIATED JUST IN TIME FOR ELECTION, WHICH WOULD ENSURE THAT IT BECAME ENTANGLED IN ALL POLITICAL PASSIONS AND MANEUVERS THAT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS GENERATE. IT WAS PRECISELY THIS KIND OF ENTANGLEMENT THAT PLAYED HAVOC WITH PRESENT ARMS-CONTROL AGREEMENT." ZORZA SAID ANY AGREEMENT THAT REPLACES THREE-YEAR PROTOCOL BY 1980 WOULD HAVE "TO BE IMPERVIOUS TO ELECTION CAMPAIGN OF THAT YEAR. THAT MEANS THAT PRESIDENT CARTER WOULD HAVE TO INSIST ON TERMS SO ADVANTAGEOUS TO U.S. THAT NO OPPONENT COULD ACCUSE HIM, AS HENRY JACKSON AND RONALD REAGAN ACCUSED FORD, OF PLAYING FAST AND LOOSE WITH SECURITY OF U.S. BY THAT TIME, CARTER WILL BE ABLE TO SAY TO KREMLIN THAT, IF HE GETS 1980 AGREEMENT THAT COULD BE PRESENTED TO

ELECTORATE AS MAJOR ACHIEVEMENT, THEN HE WOULD BE IN POSITION DURING HIS SECOND TERM TO MAKE CONCESSIONS THAT WOULD REWARD SOVIET UNION FOR HELPING HIM TO WIN ELECTION. NO U.S. PRESIDENT WOULD, OF COURSE, SAY ANYTHING LIKE THIS TO KREMLIN IN SO MANY WORDS, BUT CONSIDERATIONS OF THIS KIND HAVE OFTEN BEEN IMPLICIT IN U.S.-SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS. TROUBLE WITH THIS APPROACH IS THAT BOTH NIXON AND FORD HAVE USED IT, SUCCESSFULLY, TO GET CONCESSIONS FROM SOVIET UNION AND THAT THEY WERE THEN UNABLE TO FULFILL THEIR PROMISES. KREMLIN PRESUMABLY LEARNED ITS LESSON. BUT ALTHOUGH IT HAS ACCEPTED IN PRINCIPLE FRAMEWORK NOW PROPOSED BY VANCE, THREE-YEAR PERIOD COVERED BY PROTOCOL DOES NOT INEVITABLY HAVE TO END AT HEIGHT OF NEXT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN. IT WILL END AT THAT TIME ONLY IF NEW AGREEMENT IS NEGOTIATED BY OCTOBER, AS REQUIRED BY PRESENT TIMETABLE.... WASHINGTON HAS GIVEN KREMLIN GOOD REASON FOR TRYING TO EXTEND VALIDITY OF INTERIM AGREEMENT AND AVOIDING

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RUSH INTO NEW AGREEMENT BY OCTOBER." VANCE

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Message Attributes

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Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 26-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
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Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
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Format: TEL
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Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Subject: MAY 26 ROUNDUP
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